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ABSTRACT

This report provides public school administrators with three specific sets of guidelines related to student unrest in the secondary schools. The first set of guidelines is designed to help an administrative staff assess its own situation to determine the extent of potential student unrest in its own school system. The second set of guidelines provides a preventive course of action for administrators who desire to eliminate causes before problems arise. The third set of guidelines provides a course of action that could be implemented immediately in case of overt student unrest. The appendix contains (1) a specific administrative procedure for dealing with student demonstrators, and (2) excerpts from an interview with Michael Klonsky, National Secretary of the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS). (JH)

ED035111

Student Unrest

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

Raymond P. Shafer, Governor

Department of Education

David H. Kurtzman, Secretary

B. Anton Hess, Commissioner for Basic Education

Herbert E. Bryan, Assistant Commissioner for Basic Education
School Administration

Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services

Burt L. Dunmire, Director

Robert L. Adams, Specialist

Edward M. Grissinger, Specialist

Box 911,
Harrisburg 17126

Preface

On March 27, 1969, eighteen people from various sections of Pennsylvania sat down together in Harrisburg to discuss student unrest, student activism, at the secondary level. From that day of discussion, from conversations with other individuals, from observation, and from printed material this publication has been developed.

Two basic purposes lie behind the preparation of this material--to provide public school administrators with source material to use as they consider the growing problem of student unrest in the public schools of the Commonwealth and to heighten awareness of the seriousness of the problem.

The material begins with a general discussion and a definition of the problem followed by three sets of guidelines. The first set of guidelines is designed to help an administrative staff assess its own situation as it attempts to determine the extent to which student unrest is a potential problem in its own school system. The second set of guidelines is intended to help an administrator chart a course of action which will help him, once he has recognized a potential problem, to alleviate situations and eliminate causes before serious situations and overt problems arise. The first set of guidelines is directed toward recognition; the second, toward prevention. The third set of guidelines purports to assist an administrator to plot a course of action that could be put in motion immediately should a serious situation arise suddenly in a school in spite of all possible efforts to avoid it.

It is recognized that different manifestations of unrest may occur involving different kinds of students, extremely varied situations,

and diverse forms of action. Unrest is not limited to a black-white problem although racial conflict has been at the heart of the most disturbing and most disruptive conflicts. Neither is it confined to the poor nor to those of lower-level abilities since many dissenters are highly intelligent individuals who come from middle- or upper-class homes. Moreover, the unrest is not confined to a few students; over half of today's high school youth have expressed dissatisfaction with the limited participation they have been accorded in the operation of the schools. Each situation involving activism will be different. It should be understandable, then, that no attempt has been made to prescribe for every situation. Such an undertaking could scarcely be accomplished. It becomes the task of the administrator to translate generalities into specifics needed for his own circumstances.

Not everyone who reads this will agree with, or perhaps even like, some of the things which are said. Nevertheless, what is written represents what people have experienced, have planned, and, in numerous instances, have put into action. Many will recognize that some of the suggestions will place additional financial burdens on a community. But so too does the repair of buildings wrecked by vandalism and rioting cost money. It becomes a question of how a community would rather see its money spent--for prevention or for repairs resulting from destruction.

The publication is intended to be used as a guide. There is no intent of prescribing any course of action. A specific course of action can be outlined only by a given school within the context of its own peculiar situation. Consequently, it will quickly be noted, for example, that some of the items listed in the third set of guidelines could, depending upon the situation, be considered as part of the second set of guidelines.

In an appendix are listed the names of the persons who participated in the March 27 meeting. Without them, this publication, if possible at all, would be of much less significance. To them sincere appreciation is expressed. However, it must be understood that the material does not necessarily represent, either in part or in whole, the thinking of the committee as a whole or of any individual member. Committee members, with four or five exceptions, had an opportunity to react only to a preliminary, very incomplete, draft of the material which follows.

Gratitude is expressed also to all others who assisted and to the Pennsylvania State Education Association for the building facilities made available for meeting purposes. Particular appreciation is expressed to Lieutenant Michael Donahoe, Director of the Pennsylvania State Police Community Relations Division, for his time, his ideas, and his willingness to participate in this project.

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Introduction

"We can deplore student unrest or we can welcome it, but we cannot ignore it or simply wait for it to go away."

-- S. L. Halleck
"Twelve Hypotheses of Student Unrest"

INTRODUCTION

> ". . . student activism, as headlines testify, is becoming a potent force within our schools, and how deep its challenges go or what direction they eventually will take no one yet knows. If these students represent the new youth that will lead demonstrations in the high schools tomorrow, schoolmen can begin now, before the agony and emotionalism of confrontations intervene, to understand who they are, how they feel, and what they represent."[1]

Within these words lies a charge to those who carry the responsibility for the operation of the public schools of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. It is a charge to begin preparation for what lies ahead. However, administrators might be well-advised to think less in terms of "can" begin now and more in terms of "must of necessity" begin now.

We have more than vague signs that direct us to an increasing incidence of unrest at the secondary level. We can see organizations taking shape; we can read what students are saying; we can see secondary schools which have been torn by riots.

> "The first generation of high school activists are here and some of them are turning to radical organizations, and creating some of their own, to protest a school establishment they call irrelevant. Neither juvenile delinquents nor academic laggards, the students are organizing at breathtaking rates. . . . More than 500 underground high school newspapers have sprung up from Appleton, Wisconsin, to Atlanta; and HIPS, a national high school independent news service based in New York and completely student-run puts out packets of news, photos, and cartoons."[2]

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1 "High School Activists Tell What They Want." Nation's Schools, December 1968, page 29.

2 "What Student Activists Are Doing." Nation's Schools, March 1969, page 61.

> Students for a Democratic Society, characterized by one writer as being disruptive and as being composed of "roving guerillas"[1] has been reported as having hired a national high school co-ordinator and has urged college chapters to assist. They say high schools are non-productive, inhuman, and repressive.

Issues and demands being made by students include the following: revision of grading systems, autonomy for the school newspaper, provision for smoking areas for students, curriculum revision, the elimination of dress codes, the establishment of student councils with a significant role in determining school policy, the addition of black studies to the curriculum, the elimination of all forms of physical punishment, the creation of student-faculty review boards, less censorship of opinion in classes and assemblies, changes in cafeteria regulations, better teachers and teaching, and freedom to choose teachers.

Individual students and representatives of student organizations have made statements which paint a rather clear picture of goals and of tactics to be used in reaching those goals. They have also stated opinions very succinctly, opinions which include positions.

> Michael Klonsky, executive secretary of the Students for a Democratic Society, in his report to the SDS national committee meeting at the University of Texas in March of 1969 declared, "Our primary task is to build a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary movement."[2]

> The position of the New York Student Union has been couched in these words: "Schools are major instruments for the perpetuation of the racism and inequalities of our society. They inculcate the beliefs and behavior that support and preserve the

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[1] John Chamberlin, "Parent Power Can Open Schools." The Morning Call (Allentown, Pennsylvania), April 2, 1969, page 14.

[2] The Evening News (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania), April 1, 1969, page 18.

status quo. This serves two functions--it simultaneously teaches us to conform and obey, to take orders without question, and through its mealy-mouthed history instills bigotry and fear in white pupils, and in black pupils a belief in their inferiority."[1]

The position for the United Student Movement in the high school at Palo Alto, California, has been expressed in this manner: "Members of the movement believe some sort of revolution must come to bring the necessary reforms to the systems that control our lives."[2] This group states further: "We will no longer sit back while another generation attempts to control our lives. If this generation which is now in the position of authority cannot see where it is going wrong, then it is our duty to make these people aware of their mistakes. We will have the strength to resist their control if no sign of change develops."[3]

"One SDS pamphlet for the high school set reads in part: 'Even such seemingly destructive actions as starting trash-can fires and pulling fire alarms are actually forms of protest directed at the school as it is now constituted.'"[4]

> "If you don't dig the system, work for the revolution." This is what the New York High School Student Union of 108 semi-autonomous locals in public and private schools says to students.[5]

Already, reference has been made a number of times to the words, "student unrest" and "student activism." These words can, of course, have many connotations and can mean different things to different people. For some, unrest may be synonymous with ambition. For others, the position might be taken, for example, that "student activism" is the preferable wording because a student can become active and involved without being

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1 "High School Activists Tell What They Want." Nation's Schools, December 1968, page 30.

2 Ibid., page 30.

3 Ibid., page 31.

4 Ray Cromley, "SDS's Newest Target: High Schools." Pittsburgh Press, May 5, 1969, page 22.

5 "What Student Activists Are Doing." Nation's Schools, March 1969, page 62.

dissatisfied. Because of this, and in view of the fact that the two phrases have been and will continue to be used interchangeably in this material, a definition of "unrest" or "activism" as used in this publication is offered.

> Student unrest is defined as "a discontented attitude on the part of students toward school and its objectives, expressed in a manner that threatens the codes of conduct, written or implied, and disrupts the orderly process of education."[1]

Unrest and activism mean dissent and protest. What does an administrator do when he is first confronted with protest in his own school? Perhaps the first reaction is a negative one which moves quickly to thoughts of repression in terms of everything from counseling with protestors to suspension or expulsion from school. If not the first reaction, then a quick second reaction should be one which moves in the direction of an analysis of the protest. This is essential in view of the fact that students do have the right to dissent. The United States Supreme Court has ruled, by a vote of 7 to 2, that students have the right to carry on protest demonstrations. The ruling was made by the Court on a Des Moines, Iowa, case brought on behalf of three students who were suspended for wearing black arm bands to protest the Vietnam war.

However, it should quickly be noted that there is another side to this matter of rights. "The Supreme Court has indicated that the constitutional right of free speech does not extend to students who conduct violent demonstrations. The court refused to consider the claim of ten students who say they were suspended from Bluefield State College, West Virginia, without due process of law. The students' suspension

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[1] Student Unrest. California Association of Secondary School Administrators, 1967, page 51.

followed an unruly demonstration at a football game in October, 1967." The opinion stated that the students were "'suspended from college not for expressing their opinions on a matter of substance, but for violent and destructive interference with the rights of others.'"[1]

But the entire issue goes much deeper than a statement on rights. It is important that students do protest, that they exercise the right to dissent. It was Alvia Barfield, a teacher in the Los Angeles Public Schools, who reminded those at the AASA Convention in Atlantic City in February of 1969 that

> "It was the minority that founded this very country as a response to the grave inequities they saw in their land. It was the minority that fought for the rights of every legal age citizen to vote, but most of all, it was the minority--a minority of one--who came two thousand years ago and changed the course of all human history. A minority must not be ignored nor played down. This time if we do not heed the warning we may see the demise of what you and I call the American Heritage, the American Dream."

In terms of age level, where does the seat of unrest appear to lie? All of us are aware of the extensiveness of the unrest at the college level. Many of us are aware of the extent to which this unrest has developed in senior high schools. But, on the other hand, how many of us are familiar with the fact that a survey of the National Association of Secondary School Principals has revealed that protest activities are now as common in junior high school as in senior high school?

The appearance of unrest among the younger secondary age group and the elementary age group is highly significant for a number of reasons, not the least of which lies in a statement made by Ray Cromley

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[1] ____. Phi Delta Kappan, May 1969, page 540.

to the effect that in his experience in Asia, the very young, when aroused, are much more violent than their elder brothers. This writer goes on to say:

> "Mao Tse-tung made heavy use of his high school and pre-high school youth in the Red Guards. The high school group is very violent in Japan.
>
> "In South Vietnam's turbulent period of anti-government riots a few years back, the great bulk of the demonstrators frequently were youngsters from 8 to 17. Many were sub-teens.
>
> "The oldest member of one very effective rioting group was 11, its spokesman 10.
>
> "The North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong have made widespread use of youngsters, aged 8 to 16. The adventure--and possession of weapons--has appealed to them.
>
> "Castro in Cuba found very young boys extremely valuable--reckless in their enthusiasm, once indoctrinated very difficult to sway, and ready to die for what his men had taught them."[1]

It is true that the foregoing quotation deals with youth of countries other than the United States. But this should make little difference; youth are youth no matter what their geographic location. Nevertheless, there is an element of danger in that public school personnel could be lulled into complacency with the belief that student unrest is a secondary problem. As a matter of fact, a few elementary schools have already experienced incidents; others are certain to be added to the list.

> "Tom Hayden, a New Left activist and one of the founders of SDS, thinks that while today's high school students may have been influenced and encouraged by their college comrades, they are far more radical. 'If you think you saw militant people at these hearings,' Hayden warned the House Committee on Un-American

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[1] Ray Cromley, "SDS's Newest Target: High Schools." Pittsburgh Press, May 5, 1969, page 22.

> Activities in December, 'you've seen nothing until you see the seven- and eight-year-olds in the next few years.'"[1]

Elementary school personnel would be wise to take note; they have been warned. As is true with secondary schools, now is the time for elementary principals and faculties to begin to plan.

Many students are convinced that there is a problem in the secondary schools today, a problem which is going to be resolved only through such means as dissent, protest, demonstration, boycott, riot, or even revolution. Many of these students place the blame for the problem squarely on the shoulders of adults. One college student stated that "You old people got this world into this condition. Now you have a handful of guilt, and you don't know where to put it."[2]

Do the "old people" (the over 30's) have a sense of guilt? Should they have? Although there are more than surface implications here, at this point the question is an academic one since it does not exactly represent the core of the problem currently under consideration. Concern should be more with attitudes and courses of action which lead to an amelioration or an elimination of the problem.

Attitudes toward unrest may range from the positive to the negative with characteristic adjectives for each shown in the analogue immediately below.

UNREST

Positive		Negative
U Understanding		U Unawareness
N Negotiation		N Negative Attitudes
R Response		R Run-around
E Effort		E Evasiveness
S Sincerity		S Subterfuge
T Teamwork		T Thoughtlessness

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[1] Nicholas Pileggi, "Revolutionaries Who Have to Be Home by 7:30." Phi Delta Kappan, June 1969, page 565.

[2] Goodman Ace, "Top of My Head." Saturday Review, April 12, 1969, page 4.

From attitudes toward unrest in general it is a natural progression for an administrator to think of his own personal attitudes toward unrest and then to think of unrest relative to his own school. It is particularly with regard to the last phase--unrest in one's own school--that the following pages are directed.

It is hoped that the remainder of this publication will enable the administrative staff of any school to do three things:

1. Analyze its own situation to determine what potential exists for student unrest.
2. Correct situations which would appear to denote approaching trouble.
3. Develop a plan of action for use in the event of a crisis situation.

How well a school plans for the future determines what kind of future that school has. Planning for student unrest is no exception.

I.

Signs Indicating Potential Student Unrest In The Schools

Recognition

"American society today is characterized by internal discord and international tension, hot and cold wars, and dramatic social and technological change. Merely living in such an environment seems to require virtually all an individual's resources and skills; growing up in it is problematic indeed. It is not surprising that being an American adolescent is a difficult and demanding experience."

-- Thomas R. Leidy and Allan R. Starry

Introductory Statement Guidelines

I. SIGNS INDICATING POTENTIAL STUDENT UNREST IN THE SCHOOLS

RECOGNITION

As one lives in a given situation over a period of time, that situation can change virtually without the individual's awareness of any change. Attitudes may develop, thinking may alter, even overt actions may change almost imperceptibly from one day to the next. The net result may be that suddenly an individual is forced to face stark reality, to recognize that things were not as he thought they were.

Such may be the situation for an administrator relative to student unrest in his school. He may feel that a student sit-in or a student rebellion in the form of violent action could not possibly occur in his school--only to find that suddenly there are three hundred unmoving and apparently immovable students sitting in the cafeteria or that a fight is in progress at the end of one of the school building corridors.

The following guidelines are intended to help an administrator think through his own school situation to determine the extent of potential student unrest. Note that the word "extent" is used; the potential exists to some degree in virtually every school. An administrative admission that some of the following signs are evident in the community and/or in the school should lead the administrator to undertake an immediate and thorough study of his school.

RECOGNITION

A. Community Situations

1. Community situation and reactions in general.

   a. An untoward or unusual reaction to the location of new housing developments.
   b. Employment figures in terms of Negroes employed in significant businesses or industries out of line with employment figures for whites.
   c. Segregated housing.
   d. Segregated schools, churches, clubs.
   e. A feeling of alienation on the part of any segment of the community population.
   f. Apparent strengthening of community (adult) organizations that represent ethnic or national groups.

2. Racial problems within the community.

   a. Refusal of a white barber to cut the hair of a Negro.
   b. Denial of admission to swimming pools to minority groups.
   c. Denial of opportunity to minority groups to rent or buy housing in any given section of the community.

3. An increase in the crime rate in the community.

4. Increasing gang activities in the community.

B. Complaints

1. Increasing complaints about teachers and administrators.

2. Curriculum complaints.

3. Student dissatisfaction with teaching methods.

4. Complaints that minority groups are shunted into special education classes and general courses.

5. Teacher complaints about increasing disciplinary problems with demands for stricter disciplinary measures.

6. Complaints that minority groups are not recommended for college, are not elected to honor societies, are not selected as cheerleaders, etcetera.

7. Complaints about inconsistent, subjective, and biased disciplinary procedures.

    a. Some parents will have recollections--imagined or real--of mistreatment they received as students from some of the very same teachers who are still on the staff of the school.

C. Lawlessness

1. An increase in police/student contacts.

2. Increased vandalism to school or community property.

3. An increase in the use of alcohol or drugs.

4. Students carrying weapons.

5. Rumors of conflict.

6. Threats made to teachers.

D. Student actions

1. Use of delegations to present a point of view.

    a. Doesn't the mere fact that a delegation comes to the principal's office say something? Does it say that the students come as a group because they know if they come as individuals they will not be heard, or perhaps even seen? This leads to a question every principal should ask himself: "Am I approachable?"

2. Absenteeism patterns of a questionable nature.

    a. A careful study of the daily absentee list which shows certain patterns:

        (1) A gradual--or rapid--increase of absenteeism in general.
        (2) A change in the absentee rate of a given racial or ethnic group.
        (3) At regular intervals, a high incidence of absenteeism of a given racial or ethnic group.

3. Seemingly minor conflicts between ethnic or racial groups.

4. Appearance of an underground newspaper.

5. A growing and consistent infraction of school rules and policies.

6. Reports of emotional statements made in class.

7. The appearance of far-out clothing, far-out hair styles.

8. Increased participation of high school students in activist college student organizations.

E. Miscellaneous

1. Lack of communication between students and the administration.

2. Polarization of students.

3. Administrators and teachers with attitudes either negative or indifferent.

4. Evolvement of different minority or ethnic groups in school affairs.

    a. The organization of, for example, an Afro-American group within the school.

5. Appearance of outsiders, non-students, in the school.

6. Appearance of hate literature in the school and/or community.

7. An atmosphere which is quiet to the point of being unnatural.

8. Requests by parents that disruptive pupils of all grade levels be removed from the school.

9. Attempts on the part of community groups to circumvent administrators and make initial contacts concerning a problem directly with the school board.

* * * * *

"What counts is the determination to liberate initiative and show confidence in man at every level."

-- Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber

* * * * *

II.

Actions To Avoid Student Unrest

Prevention

"I've run the gamut of every kind of school from the toughest to the so-called best. But whatever the class, whatever the student--whether he was a window smasher or an apple polisher--each one, it seems to me, in his own private wilderness, was crying, 'Listen to me, look at me, pay attention to me, care about me.'"

-- Bel Kaufman

Introductory Statement Guidelines

II. ACTIONS TO AVOID STUDENT UNREST

PREVENTION

For the well-meaning and sincere administrator, perhaps one of the most difficult things to do is to admit to himself, to his board of education, to his faculty, to his student body, to his community, that there is dissatisfaction within the school, that a potentially serious situation exists. However, little can or will be done until the administrator, particularly the chief administrator, has the courage to make the admission. After this hurdle has been negotiated, he is ready to plot a course of action.

The guidelines which follow are just that--guidelines. They do not represent a recommended course of action. They do represent action which has been taken in various schools. Some may be applicable in toto to a given school situation; others may have no value for that particular school. Some may require adaptation. Others may suggest different approaches to the open-minded administrator.

Serious study and thought can lead to the development of a plan which will eliminate the basic causes of dissatisfaction and consequently help to produce a school and community climate of such a nature that there will be satisfaction rather than dissatisfaction, harmony rather than discord, peace rather than war.

PREVENTION

A. Communication

1. Provide for communication.

   a. Lines of communication should be such as to encourage continuous dialogue among students, administration, classroom teachers, and between the school and various sources of information.
   b. Relative to communication, two brief quotations from a recent New York study of student activism have great significance:

      (1) "What did we hear the students saying? I think we heard them say this: 'I am a human being. See me. Hear me. Please help me find out who I am. Help me to discover what life is all about. Soon.'"[1]
      (2) ". . . an interesting insight was gained during some small group buzz sessions when one principal cited his excellent communication with his students while his students were reporting elsewhere how 'out of touch' their principal was!"[2]

2. Avoid inflexible insistence on use of channels, pre-determined lines of communication.

   a. To many students, working "up" to someone represents the establishment. To many students, this establishment is oppressive and suppressive; it is a system that is not relevant.
   b. There must be, as needed, circumventing of the hierarchy. Whoever is at the top cannot possibly handle everything, but he has to hear, to listen, to understand. Until he does, nothing much is going to happen. After the one in authority knows, he can bring in his staff.
   c. Some of the pre-set communications will not work. At times students will go directly to whoever can act. Consequently, at times even very simple problems will

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[1] "Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State." The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, March 1969, page 7.

[2] Ibid., page 5.

be taken directly to the superintendent or to the board of education. What is wrong with a student feeling free to walk directly into the principal's office or the superintendent's office?

d. How does one handle a situation in which people, who do not belong there, are coming into the building and getting students to go outside? Someone who has authority to act must be reached and must listen. An individual will not always have the luxury of time; he will on occasion find that action must be taken immediately, that he cannot wait to go through channels.

3. Provide sufficient personnel to listen.

a. Boards of education--and administrators for not recommending such--have been remiss in not providing sufficient people to listen to students and still have sufficient people to operate the school system. There must be sufficient, carefully chosen personnel who will be able to communicate with top administration. Failure to listen could bring a school system to a halt.

b. In a small district, it may be that only one person would be required. In a large district, it may be that a dozen people would be required. The individual(s) should be in a position to have an over-all view of the school. It may be that the principal should be freed to work with the students.

c. Providing sufficient personnel has strong overtones for providing an adequate secretarial staff. John Doar, president of the New York City Board of Education, stated: "'The basic problem is that we haven't learned very much about how to deal with these kids, especially the minority high school kids. A lot of work must be done to reach them, but our administrators are so bogged down with paper work, report writing, and a serious secretarial shortage that many of our people don't have a chance to spend the time needed to keep up with the temper of the time, let alone get ahead of it.'

"An independent fact-finding committee may some day discover that an acute shortage of secretaries was the underlying cause of the student revolt that closed the New York public schools in 1969."[1]

d. If we do not find a way to find time for the few, we may not have time for the many. If the few are threatening to burn down the school or someone's home, we had better find the time.

4. Provide opportunities for people to talk together in informal situations.

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[1] Nicholas Pileggi, "Revolutionaries Who Have to Be Home by 7:30." Phi Delta Kappan, June 1969, page 566.

a. Providing for breakfast may seem to some schoolmen to be going a little too far. But this is exactly what one school has done. At 7:45 a.m., breakfast can be obtained in the cafeteria, and students and teachers can meet and talk. From a beginning of 25 participants, the program has grown to almost 200 per morning. If a student cannot afford to pay, the food is free.
b. Encourage teachers to sit with students at lunch and to interact with them.

5. Make use of dialogue groups.

   a. One school has made use of dialogue groups. People from the hard-core poverty areas, police, ministers, and students discuss what can be done.

6. Be available.

   a. When a student needs you, make a place on your schedule and see him. You will avoid a lot of trouble. The "you" refers to any member of the school staff.

7. Stop lying.

   a. When you tell a student, "When you need me, come see me," mean it. If you don't mean it, don't say it.

8. Authorize student leaders to have some kind of meeting with all students to make their position clear.

   a. In one school situation this was done through having the social studies classes meet in the auditorium. The social studies department chairman and the student leaders addressed the meetings with a question and answer session following.

9. Designate community coordinators or liaison personnel.

   a. Designate community coordinators whose basic function should be to represent the school at community meetings and at meetings of various agencies cooperating with the school.

10. Encourage the principal and other administrators to extend their contacts with students.

    a. One principal has reported scheduling regular meetings with representative students and with the student council to discuss varied types of problems.
    b. Another principal has reported having lunch on a regular basis with very small groups of student leaders and their advisers.

c. Another administrator established one noon hour each week (it could be more or less frequently and could be an afternoon or any other designated time) during which any student may come to his office to request information on any subject.

11. Encourage all administrators to get out of the relative quiet and security of their offices and associate and mingle with the students.

12. Arrange for discussions of school policy.

    a. The administration might profitably schedule meetings with students at which school regulations and policies could be discussed.
    b. "The key to what is going on among high school students today is that a majority clearly want to participate more in deciding their future. They are willing to be taught, but not to be told. They are willing to abide by the rules, but they will not abide by rules which put them down. They are aware of the need for authority, but not impressed by it for its own sake. They are excited by the prospect of living in a fast-changing modern society and they want their high school education to help prepare them for it--not for some society of the past."[1]

13. Try to get across to students that not only have the "over 30's" an obligation to listen, but that the "under 30's" can listen--really listen--too.

B. Curriculum

1. Develop a curriculum which is relevant.

    a. A relevant curriculum is one which faces vital issues, which comes to grips with the controversies of the day--war, violence, poverty, race, segregation, the draft, corporation influence. A relevant curriculum is one which meets the need for a serious consideration of such things as values and morality.
    b. "What school programs need is to attack frontally the dichotomy between the pupil's real world and the school's make-believe world. Their real world is the present in time and space--as the students understand that world. Teachers, on the other hand, try constantly to interpret, and often glorify, the past and/or to prepare pupils for the teachers' own concepts of what the future holds. Most pupils need

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[1] Louis Harris, "The Life Poll: What People Think About Their High Schools." Life, May 16, 1969, page 24.

less information, fewer skills, and less time in the subject fields required of all so that each may follow where his special talents and interests lead--assisted positively by the school's program."[1] (Statement by J. Lloyd Trump)

c. One student has expressed his feeling on the matter of the development of a relevant curriculum in these words: "Teachers should not try to do it all by themselves. Students are crying to participate in planning, and we resent programs planned for us, not with us."

2. Involve the community.

   a. Develop a greater community involvement in the classroom. The types of individuals or agencies invited to participate would depend upon the kinds of problems that are most urgent within that particular community.

      (1) For example, a school located within a community beset with problems of unemployment, welfare, and ill health, might invite representatives of employment, welfare, and public health agencies into the classroom to explain programs and field questions.

3. Include in the curriculum provision for an adequate study of the various cultures.

   a. However, in providing for a study of black culture, the school should not lose sight of the fact that we have red Americans and yellow Americans who have a culture. Neither can we lose sight of the fact that we have numerous minority groups in the United States including, among others, Greeks, Poles, Jews, Italians, Irish--all of whom have a culture of which they are proud.
   b. See Appendix D.

4. Consider the curriculum in terms of honest scholarship.

   a. ". . . what is the task ahead for American Education as it seeks to move from chauvenistic, racist oriented assumptions and curriculum content to a program commensurate with the world in which all of America's children--white and black--must assume their obligations of citizenship?

      "This is more than a special course in Negro history and culture--though that may help. The task is the injection of honest scholarship into the

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[1] Nicholas Pileggi, "Revolutionaries Who Have to Be Home by 7:30." Phi Delta Kappan, June 1969, page 568.

eternal quest for understanding which engages youth in school pursuits. It is not indoctrination of the lore of this tribe or that among us--giving each a dose of identity--it is a higher synthesis which draws from the strengths of the heritage of all to bring us to a new set of common values and norms with which all can be comfortable and by which none will be compromised."[1]

5. Conduct a faculty-student evaluation of teaching techniques currently in use in the classroom.

   a. Such a study might well lead to a decided decrease in the use of the lecture and a decided increase in the use of discussion, seminars, and related techniques.
   b. It might lead teachers to a serious re-evaluation of their thinking relative to their basic responsibility. Is it to teach subject material, or is it to teach young people?
   c. It might include the development of a program of individual and/or independent study for all students.

6. Introduce a course on law into the curriculum.

   a. "If a child is going to be held responsible for unlawful behavior, then society has the responsibility to insure that he has been taught the laws he is expected to obey, the value of obeying, and the consequences of disobeying."[2]
   b. See Appendix E for a description of one such course.

7. Prepare students for careers in law enforcement.

   a. School administrators, regardless of the ethnic or economic composition of their respective areas, might explore the feasibility of developing courses that would prepare young men for careers in law enforcement.

      (1) The studies could include simplified versions of the behavioral sciences, vehicle code, and typing.

   b. School personnel might encourage youngsters with college potential to consider working toward degrees in police administration.

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[1] High School Racial Confrontation, pages 64-65.

[2] H. B. McDaniel and Betty A. Truce, "Students Should Be Taught the Law." Today's Education, April 1969, pages 23-24.

8. Institute a kind of student government which has meaning.

    a. Develop ways to give students, through their own representative government, a real voice in helping to make decisions on things which really matter to them. Students can be given power without surrender of adult responsibility.
    b. Relative to the use of the student council, Joseph J. Roy, principal of Shikellamy High School at Sunbury, Pennsylvania, has made a significant statement: "Once a school is beset by waves of student protest, confidence in student government is already lost; it is too late to channel this dissent through the student council. The time to develop a visible student government is before the unrest mounts."[1]

9. Provide for seminars.

    a. Conduct seminars on current, controversial issues with two social studies teachers to help support the pro and con arguments. Hold either during or after school hours. Make no attendance check and give no homework nor grades.

10. Arrange for exhibits of cultural realia of various minority groups.

11. Plan assembly programs around minority groups.

C. Control

1. Control influences.

    a. Some forces, particularly outside forces, may seek to fan into flame a smoldering situation. Control is essential.

2. Control building visitors.

    a. If it appears necessary or even desirable, go so far as to secure legal injunctions against outsiders coming into the schools.

3. Work to nullify the influence of rumor.

    a. Rumors can be treacherous, insidious, irresponsible. Ignorance and fear of the unknown or the uncertain provide a ready forum for rumor.

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[1] Joseph J. Roy, "Shikellamy Principal Offers Channel for Useful Activism." The Daily Item (Sunbury, Pennsylvania), February 27, 1969.

b. Issuance of a fact sheet can do much to dispel rumor. Such a sheet should be given wide distribution--both to potentially dissident groups and those who might be considered otherwise.
c. Designate someone to act as a rumor control agent in each building in the district.

4. Use the peer group as a control.

a. The most effective control force among young people is the peer group.
b. One of the main problems in school disturbances is that only the most strident of student voices are heard while the great mass of young people, most of whom are moderate, remain silent. This creates an exaggerated illusion of dissidence.
c. Part of the long range answer may lie in devising ways to ensure that these voices of reason are heard above the din of extremism. This is not meant as a means to still the voice of dissent, only that it be viewed in perspective.

(1) It might be well to sound a note of caution. Be careful that, in the process of encouraging the expression of opposing views, polarization is not engendered.

(a) If student comments and responses are made on an intellectual basis, polarization is much less likely to occur.

5. Delegate, but control.

a. "Both responsibility and authority can be delegated to an individual or group to the extent the individual or individuals can be held personally accountable for the way the responsibility is shouldered and the authority used. The principal must always retain the right to disapprove the action of any student group."[1]

D. Attitudes

1. Eliminate from your thinking a "how dare you" attitude.

a. If some militant students walk into a meeting demanding to be heard, the most dangerous thing to do would be to assume the attitude, "How dare you come into this room! This is a closed meeting and you are not a member, so leave."

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[1] Student Unrest. California Association of Secondary School Administrators, 1967, page 36.

b. One schoolman relates that a group of militants walked into one of his faculty meetings and wanted to pass out literature. He said, "I wish you had stopped by before the meeting and I would have included a place for you to speak, but my agenda is already made up and it is full. This is awkward for both of us. We do not come into your meetings unless we are invited." They apologized and left.

(1) However, it is conceivable that the students might not have left. Plans must consider the possibility of such an eventuality.

2. Give deep consideration to the word "reasonable."

a. When demands or suggestions come to an administrator, how does he (or a group) acquire the wisdom to differentiate between the reasonable and the unreasonable?
b. Almost certainly the reasonable will have to be defined in terms of contemporary standards. Rules and regulations which are based on archaic standards will be unacceptable to many students.
c. This is not meant to advocate vacillation nor indecisiveness. It is meant to advocate a careful consideration of the question posed.

E. Involvement

1. Make use of the community.

a. Don't try to solve a problem of unrest by working just within the school. Go out into the community and tap resources to help with a solution. Recognize that many problems arise not because of the school per se; there is a social problem at work.
b. Utilizing information in the hands of law enforcement agencies can be of major assistance in the identification and resolution of problems.

2. Involve those who are deeply concerned.

a. One Negro educator tells of a three-county group of top educators--superintendents, principals, deans of students, deans of colleges, guidance counselors--brought together to consider the topic, "How to handle the minority problems in our districts." Of forty-five participants, his was the only black face.
b. The day of a group sitting down and deciding what is best for another group is out. When the problems of a minority group are being considered, that minority group must be adequately represented. As stated by the Negro referred to above, "Black people have been studied, researched, profiled, and had everything done that an outside group could have done to another group."

c. Relative to student unrest, if you really want to know what is going on, bring in students and they will tell you. Almost without exception, the young people will come up with the answers.

3. In plans for involvement, include students.

a. One high school makes use of a principal's cabinet.

(1) Twenty-four students and ten teachers form a cabinet which meets with the principal as the need arises to discuss and try to solve problems.
(2) Half the group deals with personnel matters and the other half with curricula.

F. School Policy

1. Develop regulations for the school, regulations rooted in the goals of the school and based on the freedom of the individual as related to the rights of others.

a. Be concerned but don't become involved with length of hair and shortness of skirt to the exclusion of matters of more vital concern.
b. Students must know not only the policy but the rationale behind it as well.
c. Students must have a deep understanding and appreciation of the importance of the "rule of law" (policy) and the impact it has on their lives.
d. Students should be able to view school policy as serving and protecting them rather than as suppressing them.
e. Eliminate from school policy any rule or regulation which cannot be enforced.
f. Include in the written policy a procedure for dealing with student complaints.

2. Strive to merit respect.

a. Those who are charged with the responsibility of enforcing policy must merit the respect of the student body, not merely because they represent authority but also because of the intelligent and equitable manner in which they exercise that authority.

3. Provide for freedom of expression in the school paper.

a. Freedom of speech is a basic American belief. Can we teach such things as citizenship while denying youth this basic right?
b. As long as such things as obscenity, vulgarity, criticism of faculty members by name, and attacks on individuals do not become a part of the paper, should censorship be practiced?

4. Organize a faculty study of report cards and student records.

    a. Such a study could include a careful analysis of school policy and of problems such as grade differentiation among various student groups.

G. Faculty

1. Include more individuals with minority group backgrounds on the school staff.

    a. More than a token representation of minority groups is needed in such areas as administration, classroom teaching, guidance, the secretarial staff, and the cafeteria staff.

2. Sensitize the faculty.

    a. Develop faculty summer workshops around such topics as curriculum and human relations.
    b. The extent of the need to sensitize faculty is pointed up by the fact that one large city system, in analyzing the causes of unrest in its schools, charged its faculty with a degree of responsibility second only to outside organizations.

3. Make use of the librarian and library materials.

    a. Encourage the librarian to develop in the library a shelf of various materials dealing with the adolescent, with problems of today's youth, and with student unrest.
    b. Have the librarian prepare and distribute to faculty members copies of particularly pertinent periodical articles.
    c. A book of special value to an understanding of youth and youth problems might be purchased in quantity and distributed to all staff members.
    d. Center one or more faculty meetings on a discussion of a book on youth and youth problems.

4. Augment service staff.

    a. Adding staff members who provide supporting services to the staff as a whole can produce practical, direct, positive help for all groups both in the school and in the community. Supporting staff include psychiatrists, psychologists, home and school visitors, dentists, doctors, and nurses. The work these people do in identifying and treating student problems is of inestimable value.

5. Make guidance counselors available.

    a. Encourage--or direct--guidance counselors to establish and maintain an open door policy.

(1) Such a policy would almost mandate a substantial reduction in the counselor-student ratio as it exists in many schools today, a reduction that would result in a ratio of one counselor to 250 or 300 students.

6. Develop faculty interest.

    a. A faculty which is genuinely interested in the students and in their education provides a highly significant type of insurance against the likelihood of overt student unrest.

7. Develop awareness of trigger words.

    a. Certain words or phrases, many of which appear innocent enough on the surface, carry connotations of such a nature as to trigger violent reactions when used in teaching or in discussion or confrontation with specific groups.

8. Determine faculty support and position.

    a. Faculty support is not automatic. It is the result of a team attitude built over a long period of time.
    b. Hold meetings with the faculty to determine their beliefs, to ascertain the position they will take and what they will support in the event of trouble.

H. Miscellaneous

1. Avoid grouping which segregates students by social class.

    a. It must be admitted that, although perhaps not intended to do so, ability grouping frequently results in grouping by social class and by race.
    b. Herein lies a difficult situation. Some means must be found to enable every student to learn in a manner best suited to his needs and his abilities without promoting segregation in the process. All students can learn from one another. Students can learn to appreciate and understand others through working together, not through segregation.

2. Recognize the need of individuals for both acceptance and respect.

3. Meet student needs.

    a. Young people have needs and we are not meeting them. We must try to identify the needs of students and make them relevant. We must develop strategies for meeting the needs of students.

4. Be sincere.

a. A student, militant or otherwise, can spot a phony. He will say to you, "Don't bring me a lot of words which mean nothing. Speak to me in straight language and prove that you are sincere."

5. Don't become over-permissive.

   a. Take a stand against coercion, force, intimidation. On the other hand, not only be open to dialogue and discussion but actively invite and foster such activity.
   b. To accede where professional knowledge and experience dictate standing firm is to add to the problem rather than to contribute to the solution.

6. Learn to <u>feel</u> what is happening.

7. Discipline impartially.

   a. Avoid the possibility of the accusation that a double standard exists in disciplinary actions, that members of a minority group get away with things for which others would be severely reprimanded, suspended, or even expelled. Otherwise, backlash may become a serious problem.
   b. Make certain that the discipline is appropriate to the action and the situation.

8. Identify leaders.

   a. Identify leaders emerging in minority groups. Encourage those leaders to develop themselves and their programs through constructive channels.

9. Organize student files.

   a. "Develop means by which information reaching various school offices can be retrieved and analyzed with a view to keeping the administration informed about the changing patterns of student behavior."
   b. "A cross-reference file should be developed to keep track of individuals participating in multiple problem situations. Dossiers should be developed on 'leaders' involved in student disturbances."

      "Establishing procedures at the district level for an interchange of information regarding problems and changing patterns of student behavior is essential to the formation of policy on student behavior."[1]

10. Give students an opportunity to discuss matters relative to the law with articulate members of the police force.

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[1] <u>Student Unrest</u>. California Association of Secondary School Administrators, 1967, page 32.

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"I think too many school superintendents and principals look at the discontent as a kind of threat to them and to the system. My advice to administrators in the schools is to understand the rebellion and the protest in the students' terms and to bring the students into decision-making positions about policies in the school on curriculum, teaching methods, and the kinds of research they can do as students."

-- Harold Taylor

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III.
Procedures To Resolve
Overt Student Unrest

"These kids are aggressive, purposely irritating, rude and given to using four-letter words and issuing ultimatums. It goes down real lumpy. It gets a schoolman's back up--puts him on the defensive.

"This is calculated behavior--over-aggressive, over-vulgarized, part of a new culture. Schoolmen must anticipate this new approach and bite their tongues when they get hit with it. If you get hung up on the rudeness and bad manners, you'll never get to the bottom of the problem, to the real causes and the things that ought to be changed. So, keep cool."

-- Delmar T. Oviatt, Acting President
San Fernando Valley State College

Introductory Statement
Guidelines
Police Intervention

III. PROCEDURES TO RESOLVE OVERT STUDENT UNREST

Over one hundred years ago Thomas Macaulay, the English essayist and historian, prophesied: "Your Republic will be pillaged and ravaged in the twentieth century, just as the Roman Empire was by the barbarians of the fifth century--with this difference, that the devastators of the Roman Empire, the Huns and the Vandals, came from abroad, while your barbarians will be the people of your own country and the product of your own institutions."

Even a school system which has courageously and honestly recognized that it has a potential problem relative to student unrest and has had the foresight to do all within its power to eliminate the factors which might lead to severe problems, might suddenly find itself, as the result of an almost insignificant incident, being "pillaged and ravaged" by the young men and women who are the "product" of that very institution.

"The battle for the colleges has been ugly enough. As it moves through the high schools--and it is almost certainly going to do exactly that--it is sure to become more confused and irrational, engulfing not just an educational elite but the entire community in a bitter and painful conflict. Earnest reformers with justified complaints will be mistaken for hard-core ideologues challenging the entire social structure, and both groups will be confused with the hoodlum element that is only too happy to break up the schools for the sheer destructive hell of it."[1]

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[1] Bayard Hooper, "The Task Is to Learn What Learning Is For." Life, May 16, 1969, page 34.

In such an eventuality, what does a school do? If, in spite of the best efforts to resolve issues, tensions begin to mount, what can a school do? If a full-scale boycott, sit-in, or riot suddenly erupts within the school, what action can or should be taken?

The best defense is a fast offense, an offense which takes the form of a carefully conceived and developed plan of action which can be implemented with no delay and executed with precision. Such a plan must of necessity be developed long before any real trouble occurs. When the boycott, or the sit-in, or the riot is in process, it is too late to begin to plan.

The guidelines which follow may be helpful to the school system which recognizes the possibility of a disruption in the program of the school and which desires to plot a course of action to be followed when the disruption takes place. Almost certainly the procedures and activities listed will suggest others to the resourceful administrator.

OVERT PROBLEMS

A. Activities or procedures prior to overt problems

1. Be alert.

   a. Be aware of what is happening within the school.
   b. Sense the development of problems.

2. Second guess.

   a. Try to discover, or to think through, the tactics most likely to be used by dissident groups determined to interrupt the school program.
   b. Plan accordingly.

3. Organize a security system for the interior of the school.

   a. This might include provision for such an extreme situation as how to get word outside when a building has been "seized."

4. Clarify legal aspects and possible courses of action.

   a. Make certain that students understand the legal implications of involvement in any type of disruption.
   b. Inform students of the ways through which violence will be handled.
   c. Where applicable, refer to school board policy and/or the school code.

5. Develop school board policy.

   a. No individual should be forced into making a decision without having a base for that decision.
   b. The school board, consequently, should adopt a policy statement under which decisions may be made.

6. Develop a prepared statement.

   a. Based on board policy and legal mandates, a prepared statement ready to be read to students when trouble breaks out could be of much help.
   b. Appendix F contains a statement prepared by one school district.

7. Maintain communications.

   a. Maintain constant communication among all groups that

would be concerned in the event of trouble.

b. Keep all parties informed about growing tensions.

(1) Understanding in depth will enable police, for example, to make an immediate decision to commit forces should it become necessary.

B. Activities or procedures during overt problems

1. Act without emotion.

a. Act with calmness.
b. Avoid reacting emotionally.

2. Act with firmness.

a. Follow through consistently with any warnings given.
b. Yet, make no threats or warnings which will not or cannot be enforced.

3. Act without hesitation.

a. While acting promptly, do not act hastily.
b. Some decisions will have to be made immediately.
c. Some decisions may be postponed until heads are reasonably clear and there is opportunity for adequate consideration.
d. Recognize that actions taken and decisions made too hastily may, while resolving a problem temporarily, lead to a situation of a more serious nature at a later time.

4. Control outside forces.

a. Some of the outside agitation can be eliminated by such tactics as controlling entrances to school parking lots.

5. Make positions known.

a. Distribute among dissident elements a printed statement delineating the legal authority for administrative actions.

6. Use available equipment.

a. As an example, walkie-talkies can perform a vital function in facilitating immediate and constant communication from one part of a building to another.

7. Contact parents.

a. When it is necessary to close the school, notify all parents.

b. If the number does not make it impossible, call the parents of those actively involved in a disruption and request that they come to the school for their sons and daughters.

8. Maintain an open, flexible situation.

   a. Much can be gained from keeping the situation fluid.

      (1) Attempt to prevent the early or immediate development of a hard and fast position on any issue by any individual or group.
      (2) A firm position inhibits compromise or even discussion.

9. Enforce school attendance.

   a. If boycotts, or disruptions of any sort, result in absence from class, make it clear that state mandates along with local board policies rule out the possibility of legal absences in such instances.

      (1) Then enforce the mandates and the policies.

   b. Announce to students and to parents that class work missed illegally cannot be made up.
   c. Clarify mandated penalties for illegal absence.

10. Talk with student leaders.

   a. Identify and then communicate with the student leaders of a disruptive activity.
   b. Such communication should be clearly conditioned by the willingness of the students to maintain order during discussions.

11. Identify student demands.

   a. Little can be accomplished until demands are clarified.
   b. Require student leaders to submit their demands in writing or at least verbalize them so that school officials can put them in writing.

12. Respond to student demands with care.

   a. The response made by school officials to student demands should take into consideration a number of factors.

      (1) What has the school already done and what is the school currently doing relative to demands made?
      (2) What plans has the school for the future?
      (3) What will be the effect, over a long period of time, of the implementation of the demands within the school?

(4) What will be the effect, over a long period of time, of the implementation of the demands within the community?

(a) This implies securing more than the student point of view; it implies involving the community to secure additional points of view.

b. Analyze requests or demands on the basis of merit. Concede where requests are reasonable and when there is no good reason not to make a concession.

13. Consider mediation.

a. To many students the board, the administration, the faculty represent the establishment and are therefore suspect.

(1) An indicated willingness to mediate may prove to be of help.

14. Call for assistance from municipal police.

a. On occasion, students attempt to get the school to agree never to call the police. Never grant such a request or demand. It will lead to further demands which will ultimately force the school to break its word.
b. If police are requested, request adequate numbers. The number is important.
c. Note the statement which follows.

15. Call for assistance from the state police.

a. Note the statement which follows.

POLICE INTERVENTION

Below is a brief version of the Pennsylvania State Police position and policy in school disturbance situations. The statement came from the desk of Colonel Frank McKetta, Commissioner of the Pennsylvania State Police.

Procedure for Acquiring State Police Assistance and Approximate Response to be Expected

The basic stand of the Pennsylvania State Police regarding rendering assistance in school disorders is that, to the greatest extent possible, school authorities should deal with such problems internally. However, when it becomes evident that the need for police assistance is imminent the following procedures are recommended.

A. When the school building is located within a political sub-division that has an organized Municipal Police Department

   1. The school administrator should request the assistance of the Municipal Police.

   2. If it becomes evident that the Municipal Police agency cannot bring the disturbance under control, the Chief of Police or the Mayor may request the services of the State Police.

B. When the school building is located within a political sub-division that does not have a Municipal Police Department, the following procedure will be pursued.

   1. The school administrator may contact the nearest State Police facility and request assistance in dealing with the disturbance.

<u>Response:</u>

In both Situation A and Situation B the State Police reserve the right to make the final judgment as to whether or not their personnel

will be physically committed to the disturbance.

In Situation A, the State Police Commander must be convinced that loss of control by Municipal Police has occurred or is imminent and that the need for State Police assistance is apparent.

Before committing his forces in Situation B, the State Police Commander must be convinced that there is a genuine need for State Police assistance and that the dissident group has committed--or soon will commit--an actual violation of the Pennsylvania Penal Code. Typically, such violations might include (1) malicious damage to property, (2) physical assaults upon school authorities, teachers, or students, (3) refusal to comply with a court order requiring that they vacate a building which they have seized. The State Police are not empowered to enforce institutional rules and regulations, nor to enforce Municipal ordinances.

Upon request for State Police assistance in Situation A and Situation B when actual disorder is in progress, the State Police Commander will immediately assemble his forces and be prepared to respond, pending the previously mentioned evaluation.

Liaison:

There should be constant liaison between school authorities, Municipal Police, and State Police. School authorities should keep Municipal and State Police apprised regarding possible growing tension within the school. In both Situation A and Situation B the State Police wish to have plain clothesmen observers at the scene long before the tension has reached the level of intensity necessitating the requesting of State Police involvement. These State Police observers would keep their Commanding Officer advised regarding the escalating tension or disturbance. Thus, if it became necessary to request State Police assistance, the Commanding Officer would have the necessary information

upon which to make an immediate decision to commit his forces.

Use of Force:

The State Police policy regarding the use of physical force is, "Only that degree of force necessary to maintain law and order, and overcome resistance to lawful authority, shall be applied."

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"It is clear that the motivating factor behind acceptable behavior is not understanding, but force. If so great and complex a structure is needed simply to insure physical attendance, we may legitimately be concerned about why we are unwilling to even place our bodies in school, let alone pay attention to what happens there."

-- Mark Kleinman

* * * * * * *

Conclusion

"Let reverence for the laws be breathed by every American mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, in seminaries, and in colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and in almanacs; let it be preached from the pulpit, proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice. And, in short, let it become the political religion of the nation; and let the old and the young, the rich and the poor; the grave and the gay of all sexes and tongues and colors and conditions, sacrifice unceasingly upon its altars."

-- Abraham Lincoln

CONCLUSION

No one would deny that public school personnel have had ample warning of impending student dissent. Neither would anyone minimize the severity of the problems that student unrest has created in a number of secondary schools in Pennsylvania nor the severity of problems yet to come.

However, in many ways we should feel grateful for these young people who are alive, vibrant, filled with convictions, and courageous enough to give expression to their convictions. We may deplore sometimes what they do or how they do it, but at the same time we recognize that in numerous instances their activities are going to effect positive changes--perhaps even some which are quite revolutionary. They have made us feel uncomfortable and may well cause us to feel even much more uncomfortable in the months ahead.

Yet, how many of us would be willing to exchange these youth for another group that is perhaps even a much greater problem? Reference is made to the passivist, the student who gave up long ago, the student who dropped out of school several years ago but who continues to attend the school and to occupy a seat in the classrooms. Here is the person who because of his complete lack of resistance, his aggravating silence, his quiet acquiescence to everything, his stubborn apathy, is now and will continue to be a problem to society. But because he makes no noise, creates no disturbance, makes no one uncomfortable, he receives no attention. Instead the school focuses on the element that makes itself heard. Perhaps this is natural in view of the fact that school authorities

must control student behavior if effective learning is to be achieved.

To these two groups--the very active who are involved in unrest and to the very inactive who conform while neither accepting nor rejecting--must be added a third group which comprises the great majority of the youth in today's schools. These are the young people who may conform, who object, when they do, in a somewhat quiet and controlled manner. These are the individuals who provide a degree of cohesiveness and stability during periods of "strum und drang." These, too, merit recognition of high order.

The task before boards of education, administrators, and faculties in molding all elements within a school into a unit through which the orderly process of education may continue is a formidable one. In the process, public school administrators in particular, while working with students in terms of conferring and even negotiating, must bear in mind their responsibility for the operation of the schools. They must also be cognizant of the fact that they should not--cannot--agree to demands which are against regulations or are illegal. Control is essential.

It is obvious that the control must be exercised judiciously. In a nation with approximately 420,000 law enforcement officers of all types and two hundred million people, can those law enforcement officers actually enforce the law? Or in a school system with some 300 adult employes and 4,500 students, can the school enforce compliance? It becomes clear that compliance to law, rules, and regulations must be a voluntary act to a large degree.

The implication of this concept is expressed well in a publication of the New York State Education Department:

> "Perhaps the major confrontation occurring today is the fact that our youth are seeking to involve us in evolution aimed at re-defining democracy in a way which is consonant with our future as well as our heritage. We can neither dictate answers to youth nor abdicate our responsibility to them if we are to be true to the canons of our profession. We have no choice save to teach."[1]

"We have no choice save to teach." This sentence is simple to the point of being misleading to the person who sees only the concept of teaching. Does it not imply not only learning for the student but also learning for the classroom teacher, learning for the administrator, learning for the board of education, learning for the parent, and learning for the community as an entity?

Progress will be made when administrators and teachers begin to understand that grievances, rather than protests, are the problem and then begin to use the juvenile simplicity, the unbounded energies, and the deep idealism of youth to assist in the development of creative solutions.

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1 "Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State." The University of the State of New York, The State Education Department, March 1969, page 21.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION
Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services

COMMITTEE DEALING WITH PROBLEM OF STUDENT UNREST

Mr. Robert L. Adams	Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services Department of Public Instruction
Mr. James A. Bolden	Bureau of Guidance Services Department of Public Instruction
Dr. John Bonfield	Coordinator of Pupil Services Lancaster City School District
Mr. Donald DeNardo	Acting Principal Academy Senior High School, Erie
Dr. Vernon H. W. Dessenberger	District Superintendent Oxford Area School District
Miss Gaye Fackre	Student McCaskey Senior High School, Lancaster
Dr. Edward M. Grissinger	Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services Department of Public Instruction
Mr. R. Keith Hite	Bureau of Information and Publications Department of Public Instruction
Mr. Thomas N. Hondras	Teacher Columbia Boro School District
Dr. Jerry Miller	Director of Special Education Philadelphia City School District
Dr. D. Jack Moses	Dean of Academic Affairs Cheyney State College
Mrs. Julia Muldrow	Teacher and Guidance Counselor William Penn Senior High School, York
Dr. Forrest R. Schaeffer	District Superintendent Kennett Consolidated School District
Mr. J. Frederick Scherrer	Administrative Assistant to Superintendent for Secondary Schools, Pittsburgh School District
Miss Lucy Valero	Director of Student Associations Pennsylvania State Education Association

Lt. Michael Donahoe, Director of Pennsylvania State Police Community Relations Division
Dr. Burt L. Dunmire, Director of Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services, Department of Public Instruction

APPENDIX B

"Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State"
The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department
March 1969

The New York State study of student activism at the high school level reported a number of conclusions but emphasized that conclusions "about changing expectations of students should be accepted as tentative generalizations leading to implementations which must be characterized by relevance, viability, flexibility, and acceptability. They also have to work."

"Rising expectations on the part of students is a part of the tempo of the times."

"Changing expectations of students are not exclusively a matter of race."

"While student unrest is caused by conditions unique to each locality and situation, there is a pervasive thread of commonality."

"Outside organizations to a limited degree are encouraging student activism."

"Student unrest frequently is a by-product of rigidity of the educational establishment."

"Student expectations concerning their own governance basically are rooted in altruism and integrity."

"Rising expectations should be encouraged on the part of all students."

"Student activism is comprised of students of diverse motivation, thereby necessitating differentiated responses."

"Student activism will increase and assume a variety of forms."

"The perspective of history will cast student activism in a more significant light than it receives today."

APPENDIX C

"Student Activism in the High Schools of New York State"
The University of the State of New York
The State Education Department
March 1969

The New York State study of student activism at the high school level produced a number of recommendations for working with students during this period of changing and evolving relationships.

"1. The prescription of specific guidelines for statewide application is neither feasible nor recommended."

"2. Educational leaders must take the initiative in convincing their profession and their community that student activism is potentially a constructive force compatible with basic democratic principles."

"3. Superintendents of schools should carefully analyze or update their analysis of their community."

"4. In developing philosophy and procedures for greater constituent involvement, school officials should include representation of forces not recognized nor present in the community previously."

"5. The visibility of minority group participation should be observable to all."

"6. New communication channels must be created and existing channels must be made more effective operationally."

"7. Education's goals and purposes for all whom it serves must be cooperatively defined and achieved."

"8. Significance, relevance, and integrity must be brought to the curriculum in greater measure."

"9. Redeployment of personnel and restructuring of organization and procedures must recognize increased peer group influence."

"10. A deliberately planned program should be provided to sensitize all staff personnel to the perspective of others."

"11. Protest should be anticipated and tactics and strategy for dealing with it should be available."

"12. Professional organizations should join forces to promote constructive utilization of the increased student drive for greater participation."

"13. The Education Department offers to assist local school officials in planning changes in programs and procedures to meet growing student activism."

APPENDIX D

Common Sense Talk on Protests

Civil rights leader Bayard Rustin had some profound comments both for black students and university administrators at a talk in New York City.

He criticized Negro students for demanding courses in "soul music and poetry." Instead, he said, they should be concentrating on mathematics and English. He asserted: "What in hell are soul courses worth in the real world? In the real world, no one gives a damn if you've taken the courses. They want to know if you can do mathematics and write a correct sentence."

"University administrators," he said, should "stop capitulating to the stupid demands of Negro students . . . and see that they get the remedial training they need." He also said, "The easy way out is to let them (the students) have black courses and their own dormitories and give them degrees."

If the students can't see the wisdom in these remarks, certainly the university officials should. Negro students will benefit themselves, their families, and their race best by getting adequate training in subjects that will best prepare them for leadership roles in the various professions. Administrators should realize that they are not doing the students any favors by permitting them to be diverted from the courses that, in the long run, will do them the most good.

Philadelphia Inquirer, April 19, 1969, page 20.

APPENDIX E

A Course on Law

In one high school in Harrisburg there has been instituted a legal education program designed to provide young people with a working knowledge of law relevant to their lives. One of the objectives is to demonstrate that law is not static, and that it is healthy for young people to think, challenge, and seek ways in which to effect change lawfully. The course is administered by the Dauphin County Legal Service Association and the Dauphin County Bar Association. The course is designed to be taught once a week for twelve weeks. Teachers are attorneys who volunteer their services, and the course is open to students who wish to take it. Course material consists of the following:

1. An Introduction to Law
2. The Legal System in the United States
3. You and the Law of Evidence
4. You and Jury Service
5. You, the Law and Juvenile Court; Juvenile Rights
6. You, the Law and School
7. You, the Law and Merchants
8. You, the Law and the Automobile
9. You, the Law and Crime
10. You, the Law and Drugs
11. You, the Law and Welfare

The main objectives of the course are as follows:

1. To demonstrate the necessity for law and a government of laws.
2. To provide youth, especially the disadvantaged, with a working knowledge of law relevant to their lives as adolescents.
3. To develop in youth positive attitudes toward law, the legal system, and its participants.
4. To demonstrate that the law is not static and youth to think, challenge, and seek ways in which to effect change lawfully.
5. To foster acceptance of conflict as characteristic of growth and development of individuals and of society; moreover, that compromise, adjustment, and resolution through lawful processes and institutions are the best manner in which to resolve conflicts.
6. To foster respect for real and personal property, as well as for life.
7. To teach youth how to make reasoned judgments.
8. To teach the inherent worth of every individual and the recognition of this worth in the language of the Bill of Rights and other legislation.
9. To make youth aware of the availability locally of legal services programs for persons unable to afford a lawyer.
10. To encourage teachers to teach law in secondary schools.
11. To gain acceptance for legal education in the public school systems in the Commonwealth.
12. To educate parents in law through their children.

Particulars about the course may be secured by sending $5.00 (to meet expenses) to:

Herbert C. Goldstein, Esquire
118 Market Street
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

Checks should be made payable to the Dauphin County Legal Service Association.

APPENDIX F

Administrative Procedure for Dealing with Student Demonstrators

Phase I

I am _____ (Name), _____ (Title) of _____ (School or Office) and am asking you to return to your classes (or, if there are any non-students in the group, to leave the premises). If you remain here you are violating the rules and regulations of the Board of Education. Therefore, once again, I must ask you to return to your classes (or, for non-students, to leave the premises). Those who fail to respond to this request within the next five minutes will be subject to suspension from school and/or prosecution for violating the Penal Law of the State of _____. Please avoid additional trouble by leaving at this time.

(Pause - 5 minutes)

Phase II

I am _____ (Name), _____ (Title) of _____ (School or Office). Five minutes ago I asked each of you who are students in our school to return to your classes (and those who are not students to leave the premises). I indicated to you at that time that if you had not returned to your classes or vacated the premises by this time you would be subject to suspension and/or arrest. Therefore, I am now indicating that each of you who are enrolled in our school are suspended from school; and you may not return to school until an individual appointment has been made and kept by you and your parent(s). Your parent(s) will be contacted in the near future regarding the appointment date.

To avoid further difficulty and possible arrest, I am now asking each of you to leave the school property immediately. You will have five minutes to comply with this request. If you have not vacated the school property in five minutes, the police will be called and you will be forced to leave and you may be arrested. I must remind you that such an action will be recorded on your school record and will become a part of the police record as well. Neither of these will help you or your cause and will undoubtedly bring embarrassment to your family. Therefore, for the last time, I am reminding you that you have five minutes to leave the school property. Those failing to comply are in violation of the Penal Law of the State of _____ since you are remaining unlawfully upon this property. In addition, since I am asking you directly to leave, failure to comply is an insubordinate act. You have five minutes to leave the school property.

(Pause - 5 minutes)

Phase III

I am _____ (Name), _____ (Title) of _____ (School or Office). As a person delegated by the Board of Education to be in charge of this property, I have indicated to you on two occasions that you are remaining on this property unlawfully, and I ordered you to leave. Since you have not done so, I have called for police assistance and I am prepared to file charges against you for prosecution as a violator of the Penal Law of the State of _____. This is _____ (Name of Police Officer) of the _____ Police Department.

APPENDIX G

Suggestions Relative to Student Unrest
Gregory R. Anrig
Director of the Office of Education's
Division of Equal Educational Opportunities

1. "First, all schools should follow the lead being pioneered by some urban districts in increasing involvement and sharing real power with teachers, students and parents. We must be willing to share this opportunity and make our schools more public in the truest sense.

2. "Second, we must seek alternatives to what might be called the 'tight ship syndrome' which characterizes the regimented life a student faces, especially in our secondary schools, where even the need to go to the bathrooms requires a public declaration in class and a brightly colored plaque visible enroute.

3. "Third, we must open up new and broader communication with our patrons and clients--the students of our schools. Any other society at any other time would find these teenagers fully productive members of their community--earning a living and raising a family. In an age when students are brighter than ever before, better educated, and more concerned about a contributing role in society, we continue to treat them as young children rather than young adults. We need to listen to them in the fullest sense and judge their views on their merit rather than by the age and appearance of the speaker.

4. "Fourth, we need to seek greater relevancy in learning--relevancy to the world of work, and relevancy to the community with which the student identifies himself. We urge social conformity on young people but provide little opportunity for social participation. Why not have store front schools? Why not use high school students from the ghetto to work with elementary school children or with adult illiterates? Why not move the school experience out of the classroom and into the social service centers of the community?

5. "Fifth, we need to change the ways in which we select and train those who enter the critical role of secondary school principal. Should seniority, certification requirements, and examination scores prevail over sensitivity and imagination? I think not. We must also bring pressure to bear upon schools of education to recruit more effectively those who enter the education profession. The reservoir of talent available to school districts must be enlarged and enlivened.

6. "Finally, those of us who have some power in this business of education must be more willing to look at ourselves critically, to judge our own actions and reactions regarding those who confront and trouble us, and be willing to change our attitudes towards others claiming what they see--often quite accurately--as their rights."[1]

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[1] "Education Daily." June 24, 1969, page 2.

APPENDIX H

Students for a Democratic Society

Almost at the precise moment that this publication was completed, the Bureau of Administrative Leadership Services received a copy of an interview involving a reporter of /I/D/E/A/ and Michael Klonsky, national secretary of Students for a Democratic Society. Since it was too late to incorporate any of the material within the body of the publication, it was decided to include it as an item in the appendix.

The interview is included because it is pertinent and timely, not necessarily to give SDS any undue emphasis. To provide some balance, note the following question asked of Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College, in a recent interview and his answer:

> "You feel then, that SDS has become too ideological for its own survival?"
>
> "Yes. . . . I think the main thrust of future action will come from the black students with the support of the white moderates and white radicals who have begun to work in the schools and elsewhere on the problems of changing the society and re-distributing the country's wealth."[1]

The interview is reprinted with permission from the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., /I/D/E/A/, an affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. Sincere appreciation is expressed to /I/D/E/A/ not only for granting permission to include the interview in this publication but also for granting the permission within a matter of a few days of the request.

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[1] "Student Activism Steers Away from SDS and toward Educational Reforms." Nation's Schools, July 1969, page 41.

"NOTHING ADMINISTRATORS CAN DO IS RIGHT"
An Interview with Michael Klonsky
National Secretary
Students for a Democratic Society

Editor's note: Michael Klonsky was interviewed by the I/D/E/A REPORTER at the national offices of the organization in Chicago. Mr. Klonsky demanded the Institute pay a fee for a taped, two-hour interview which will be dealt with more completely in a special report by I/D/E/A on SDS and student activism (available after April 15). The following is an abbreviated version of the interview.

REPORTER: How is SDS structured?

KLONSKY: We have organizations on the various campuses and in communities called chapters. In some places they are called "affinity groups" or "collectives." These groups meet a few times a week to educate themselves, to try and get a better understanding of the problems that confront them, to determine what kind of collective actions they are going to take, and to make decisions about how they are going to move. From the local chapter, you move up to the regional structure. There are about seven or eight regional structures around the country. The chapters come together and make decisions about regional actions or regional programs. Nationally, SDS meets four times a year in what is called National Council Meetings or conventions. At these meetings the national strategies are discussed, a national program comes out, debates within the organization are resolved, and direction for the organization is determined. We try to involve the most number of people in decisions so that the masses of people in the organization can better understand whatever actions we do decide to take.

REPORTER: Where do you get funds to support your activities?

KLONSKY: Our money comes from the people that support our organization, the people that our program is relevant to. We are in very bad financial straits.

We actually lose money on memberships. It costs more to put out New Left Notes, our internal organ, than the $5 a year subscription covers. Generally, we are supported by the young people of the country. We sell literature, which raises a little. A lot of us, like for example, myself, work full time for the organization. I am National Secretary. I work seven days a week. I have a wife and kid, and we can only afford to pay me $15 a week. (Klonsky mentioned also that he would not have agreed to the interview if the organization had not been so low on funds.)

REPORTER: What is the major area of concern--colleges, high schools, or social reform?

KLONSKY: Our major area of concern is capitalism. It is the system we live under. We are concerned with it, and its every aspect and how it affects peoples' lives. Our general area of concern is doing away with

the system that is based on the exploitation of human beings, that is based on buying peoples' lives away bit by bit for a few bucks an hour and some breadcrumbs, that is based on racism, war and imperialism, and that, by its very nature, cannot allow people to be liberated, cannot allow for racial equality, cannot allow women to exist as functional human beings, cannot allow universities to function in a humanitarian manner, cannot allow people to live free lives.

REPORTER: Is there any difference in the amount of activity or in the type of activity among the regions?

KLONSKY: Most of the activity in the last few years has been heavily concentrated on the coasts and especially in the large industrial centers and urban centers. This is changing now. There is a lot of motion developing in the south, in the rural areas, in the midwest. In probably a short time, whatever regional differences there are . . . will disappear. . . . There is some difference in the kind of programs that come out of, say a small state college in the midwest, than there would be from Columbia.

REPORTER: Is that because the issues bothering the students in the midwest have already been settled other places?

KLONSKY: No, it's just that the immediate struggles take on different characteristics. For example, in some places in the South, a lot of the racial hangups will have to be fought first. . . . Although, even in the North racism has to be a main focus of our programs. At Columbia it was, and at San Francisco State . . . it just takes on different characteristics. Some places we might be demanding more black admissions on the campus . . . some places, like at Columbia, it might mean fighting the ghetto expansion by the university. In New York, the largest slum landlord in Harlem is Columbia University.

REPORTER: What is the average age of an SDS member?

KLONSKY: It's getting lower, and our biggest growth has been among high school and junior high school students. It's hard to give a specific age--an average age--but we are basically a youth movement. We see our main focus as reaching young people on campuses, in factories, in the Army, on the streets, wherever young people are, that's where SDS should be. So our age, the age of SDS, is young.

REPORTER: Would you describe the SDS view of the perfect school?

KLONSKY: Under capitalism the perfect school would be one that doesn't function. The university and the public school system serve the interests of the rich in America, of the ruling class, and they become an agency for producing the right kind of people. Everything from the overt kind of racism in the universities to the more subtle kinds of mis-education that go on in the classroom, is symptomatic of the anti-human system we live under.

The high school population of San Francisco is 70 percent black and only four percent of the students at San Francisco State are black . . . that's the most overt kind of racism. Ghetto expansion is more subtle as I mentioned before, where the university is the slum landlord. The

less obvious things are, for example, training social workers to learn how to manipulate the poor--to go in and buy off poor people's struggles with welfare checks, or training racist teachers to go into the ghetto schools and act as cops in the classroom, or the kind of war and militancy research that goes on--germ and chemical warfare research, counter insurgency research. We say that as long as the United States Government serves the oppressors of the people of the world and the university is the "brain center" of that oppression, then the people have to shut it down, and stop it from functioning.

REPORTER: Are the confrontations becoming more violent?

KLONSKY: Our movement started out as a non-violent movement. Many of our people went down South and fought in the civil rights struggle. You had people fighting in a pacifist kind of way . . . hoping the civil rights movement would appeal to the conscience of America. What happened instead was that the non-violent movement was met with guns and tear gas, people were killed, gassed, beaten, and jailed by the thousands.

We learned that every time we challenge the basic tenets of society--challenge racism or imperialism--we've got to expect that the people that run this country are going to use the troops, the police, etc. to knock us down. So what we have decided is that if we are really going to struggle for liberation, then we are going to have to learn, number one, how to defend ourselves, be willing to do so, and see that as our responsibility. I think you will see more violence because as American capitalism begins to crumble, begins to fall apart, the rulers of the country are going to depend more and more on the military to insure their power. You see this at San Francisco State now where thousands and thousands of police are being used to do the job, because capitalism cannot meet the needs of its people.

REPORTER: Do you look on this increased violence as defense then, rather than as attack?

KLONSKY: Yes . . . because, like I said, the movement started out non-violent. Nobody likes violence, but people have to have a willingness to fight for what they believe. If you are not willing to fight . . . then you're just jiving, you're not really serious about what you say. The people who rule the country . . . are willing to fight for what they believe. They believe in the domination of people--the control of people--and they are willing to back that up with violence. They are willing to bring on the police.

REPORTER: Is the "establishment" incapable of the type of change you desire?

KLONSKY: Well, they are incapable of it because they are committed to a system . . . based on the profit motive. As long as they are committed to that kind of oppressive system, then they are incapable of meeting the needs of the people in America. The rulers of this country are not only incapable but are unwilling, don't have any intention of meeting the needs of the people.

REPORTER: Is the curriculum in high schools today relevant to the

problems we are currently facing?

KLONSKY: It's relevant to controlling young people, to keeping them like prisoners in the schools. . . . High schools are relevant to the needs of the people who run the country. They are not relevant to ending racism. They are not relevant to dealing with any of the problems in America. They are relevant to keeping young people down, to brainwashing young people, to teaching them racist lies like Columbus discovered America. Schools serve to cover up problems rather than solve them. Fortunately, though, the will to fight, the will to struggle, among young people is stronger than the socialization process.

REPORTER: Could you give me an idea of what, in your opinion, administrators of high schools and the public schools are doing wrong?

KLONSKY: It's not a question of what they are doing wrong, it's a question of the role that high schools serve. It doesn't matter whether administrators serve that function nicely, patting the kids on the head as they teach them racist lies and teach them how to dress, how to talk and how to act and what to wear and as they channel them into different kinds of jobs--for example, channel working-class kids into the trade schools and the middle-class kids to the big universities. High school activism could take many forms . . . the fight against racism . . . the fight against imperialism, the war in Vietnam . . . as well as the fight against the socialization processes that try to brainwash kids.

REPORTER: Is there any type of program or any activities that the administrators of a high school can do to keep trouble from developing on campus?

KLONSKY: Sure, he can quit his job and join SDS.

REPORTER: I mean seriously, what kind of programs can he institute that would get students involved, or is that what you want?

KLONSKY: You see, I'm not interested in that. Administrators will try all kinds of things to buy off the struggle of young people . . . they will try to tell young people that we are all after the same things . . . they will try to peddle all kinds of lies.

REPORTER: Then student involvement in the decision-making processes would not be one of the things SDS is fighting for?

KLONSKY: That can't exist because decisions are made about how schools are run, not by the students, but by the people that control the educational institutions in America. The same people that are on the boards of trustees of universities, the same people that run the schools, are the same people that run the big corporations. So all administrators can do is pretend students have control of decisions. Students cannot make decisions in America, the way it is, about the main function of schools, which is to turn out pegs to fit in holes. I think administrators should stop jiving young people and start telling them what their real role is--telling them that they are flunkies of the big corporations, that they're flunkies of the business interests in America and stop trying to tell them "We're all

after the same thing," because we're not all after the same thing.
They're trying to perpetuate that oppressive system, and we're trying to end it.

REPORTER: Is there nothing then that administrators can do that SDS would agree with?

KLONSKY: When there is a struggle on between the oppressed and the oppressor, you have to be on one side or the other. Administrators have chosen to be on the side of the oppressors. Therefore, they are the enemy of young people, and young people have to fight against them as much as they do the real enemy which is the ruling class.

REPORTER: So there is nothing you can say to a school administrator?

KLONSKY: Quit your job, I would tell administrators to drop out. To do something humanitarian instead of just being interested in making a buck.

REPORTER: Is there nothing, in your opinion, that can be done with the schools the way they are now without completely dissolving them and starting over again? Is there nothing a principal can do?

KLONSKY: He can't do anything as a principal . . . as a human being he can fight against racism in all of its forms, which would mean that he would have to stop serving as a racist administrator.

REPORTER: Well, then he probably wouldn't hold his job very long, would he?

KLONSKY: Right, if he would fight against racism in the schools he would get fired, because he would be organizing demonstrations of young people, and that would be bad, too, because young people have to organize them themselves. He could join the demonstrations of students . . . he could give money to the Black Panther Party. He could tell his children not to fight in Vietnam, to resist the draft, or to go in the army and organize. He could stop oppressing his wife at home making her play all kinds of subservient roles . . . while he's off being a racist administrator. He could do things that any other human being does in a struggle, take the side--the right side. And whether that would mean giving up his job or not, I don't know, but I find it silly talking about what administrators can do because, generally, they are very consciously against the struggle.

REPORTER: I was thinking that a principal would not be taking the SDS position necessarily, but would take a stance halfway between SDS and the normal position of an administrator.

KLONSKY: You can't be half a racist and half a warmonger or halfway for liberation. You are either in the struggle or you are fighting against it. Some administrators don't fight against it as hard as others, but I'm not going to be thankful to them for not fighting against it as hard as others.

REPORTER: What about teachers, do you view them in the same way as you do administrators?

KLONSKY: Because they are oppressed, teachers have the potential to be on the right side. They can go either way. They can either serve as the middlemen of the oppressors or they can be on the side of the liberation struggle.

REPORTER: Do you actively solicit teacher support?

KLONSKY: Yes, we have a group called Teachers for a Democratic Society. It's mostly in New York City right now.

REPORTER: Is that something new?

KLONSKY: Yes, within the last year. We're organizing radical caucuses within teacher unions . . . it is affiliated with SDS.

REPORTER: Do members of Teachers for a Democratic Society have much trouble identifying with your organization and keeping their job at the same time?

KLONSKY: Yes, they do. That's one of the things people must be willing to risk--that they get fired. Because there is such a need for teachers, many of them can keep their jobs and function as radicals inside their profession. But, they do face a risk of getting fired and that is one of the sacrifices they have to make. Either that, or just become a tool of the system for the rest of their lives for the lousy pay which they get and act like policemen in the classrooms. They have their choice. It's a lousy choice, but that is the choice America offers people--a lousy choice.

REPORTER: Does it create more support for SDS when an administrator takes a hard line stance--banning speakers or chapters?

KLONSKY: Nothing administrators can do is right. If they let us speak we will organize SDS chapters. If they don't let us speak, SDS chapters will organize by themselves.

REPORTER: But would such a hard stance make more people sympathize with you?

KLONSKY: That's why I say nothing that administrators can do is right . . . it's like GI's in Vietnam. While they are there killing Vietnamese, they are the enemy of the Vietnamese. Whether they fire bullets slowly or file bullets quickly, they are still killing Vietnamese and the Vietnamese have to see them as the enemy.

Administrators oppress young people. Whether they do that liberally or conservatively, they are still doing it. John F. Kennedy and Senator Eugene McCarthy are just as much an oppressor of the people in this country as Barry Goldwater or George Wallace. They just have different styles.

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